5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva



623 working out a development policy, but rather of obeying a sacred formula that
657 came to the Australian authorities from a *dema*-like source and was then passed
177 on as a gift to the Orokaiva.

Are all these gifts derived ultimately, in Orokaiva estimation, from Jesus
829 Christ, or are there other *dema* figures as well to whom these gifts are ascribed?
[123] Who would they be? This is a hard subject for a white anthropologist to inquire into. Informants answer: 'We do not know. Nobody has told us.' The anthropologist feels uneasily that if anyone knows the source of Western wealth and power, it ought to be himself rather than his informants.

### 3. *New Exchange Cycles*

121 The image of post-contact history reconstructed here from statements by Orokaiva informants seems unduly dreamlike and idealised. This is because they are statements about the metaphysical starting mechanisms making social relations possible. Turning to the relationships themselves, I find that they are often marred by a severe conflict of interests and values. For the purpose of a brief overview, we shall consider relationships with representatives of three types of European-introduced institutions: church, commerce, and government. Following our theoretical scheme, we shall be especially interested in the objects that are exchanged in these relationships and in the mediating elements that make possible social exchange.

461 An employer of Papuan labour is interested chiefly in obtaining the
466 compliance of his workers by the payment of money. Usually he is not at all
829 interested in social exchange, but in a contract whereby he acquires the total
437 work output of the worker for the period he is on the job. The Orokaiva,
177 however, regards all the work he does as part of a social relationship with the person for whom he works. First of all, he expects that person to feed him while he is working. This is because he has been prevented by the person he is helping from going to his own garden. The employer in New Guinea usually does feed his workers, subtracting the cost of the food from the wages he pays. But secondly, the Orokaiva, lacking a long tradition of wage labour, regards his work as a long series of gifts to his employer enabling him to claim return gifts. He does not think of his wages as being a total discharge of his employer's obligations. They were promised at the beginning, but since then many unpredictable things have happened: he has loyally looked after his employer's interests in a series of small crises; he finds he has additional urgent needs he did not envisage when he agreed to come to the job; he believes his labour has yielded his employer vast profits. As the Orokaiva understand a social partnership, events of this kind all create a claim upon the person who has received help. Thus, the worker keeps on pressing his employer most persuasively for extra gifts of various sorts, in addition to his wages. This pattern is found throughout New Guinea and is known as the *baksheesh* system. Employers often give in to the demands, hand out various extras, and allow for these costs in plantation budgets.[3]

466 The basic significance of the *baksheesh* has already been pointed out by
437 Mauss (1966: 250–5, 229–32); '*La chose ainsi transmise est, en effet, chargée de*
177 *l'individualité du donateur.*' It rests on a notion that both worker and

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
OJ23 Orokaiva OJ23
Mountain Orokaiva



employer give something in excess of their contractual obligation. These services and gifts over and above the formal contract are a form of social exchange. Both parties seem to be expressing affection and solicitude for the other. The worker does this by special care for his employer's interests; the employer does it by 'baksheesh'. The latter are never just extra handouts or cast-offs, though these may also be given. They are usually responses to appeals by the worker who describes an emergency that has arisen for which he requires some object of usually quite limited value: old batteries, a little kerosene, etc. It is the employer's solicitude in response to a claim which gives these objects their special value (though, of course, they have some monetary value as well). This social exchange can be expressed in the following diagram:

MODEL 6

This model represents the ideal norm of the relationship, as seen by the Orokaiva. He is well aware that the reality often falls far short of the ideal norm: not all employers show affection and solicitude. It is, however, a more serious flaw of the model that the white employer would totally reject it; his ideal norm of the employer-employee relationship is a very different one that does not involve social exchange (or baksheesh) at all. There is, in fact, a conflict of ideal norms between employer and employee. The actual arrangements on the plantations, which I have briefly sketched, are a sort of compromise or accommodation between the two conflicting concepts of employment: the employee accepts the fact that baksheesh is usually rather unwillingly and rudely handed over, as being a regrettable white man's custom; and the employer somehow makes room for a minimum of baksheesh on his balance sheet.

The fact that the conflict of values remains unresolved in this relationship does not vitally threaten plantation development, but similar conflicts are not so easily sidestepped in the Orokaiva's relationship with government and the mission. Neither community development nor religious conversion will be successful without some ideological commitment on the part of the receivers of the message. Obvious though this statement is, it is worth while to spell out its implications here, as it applies to the implementation of government policy.

Policy is formulated in Port Moresby and promulgated by the Administrator in the form of ordinances and regulations. Instructions on the enforcement of these are prepared by the Department of District Administration in Port Moresby and interpreted, in the light of local conditions, by the Department's officers in Popondetta, the administrative centre of the Northern District. But how can these ordinances and regulations be enforced in the jungle by a very limited number of patrol officers? Until 1956, a rather simple procedure was used. The patrol officers appointed a large number of suitable Orokaiva as village

## Origins of the System (1894 - 1918)

From the beginning of British administration in Papua in 1888, it was policy to encourage Papuans to engage in cash cropping. MacGregor, the first Lieutenant-Governor, advocated cash cropping to those villagers he met in his tours of the country, but such incidental advice by an intinerant official was probably not very influential. The first legislative provision to promote cash cropping was a Native Regulation, introduced by MacGregor in 1894, which provided that magistrates could compel indigenous people to plant coconuts on penalty of a fine.(1) This was extended in 1903 by a regulation which provided for compulsory planting of other economic trees. Native agriculture was not, however, the main plank of agricultural policy for although government staff were trained to "treat natives justly" they were directed "above all to prepare the country for development by Europeans. There is not, and there has not been, any other policy".(2)

Planting under the regulations took place slowly, and only in areas which were under the close supervision of magistrates. It appears that there was little planting of cash crops by Papuans other than under the compulsion of the regulation and at this stage it does not seem to have been a matter of concern to the Administration whether the people planted individually or in groups. It has not been possible to determine which pattern was most frequently followed in practice, though the examples noted in the literature mostly involved planting by village or clan groups rather than by individuals. Coconuts were the main crop planted under the regulations, but rice, rubber, kapok, peanuts and fruit trees were tried in smaller

(1) Native Regulation No. 2, 1894. Miles (1956: 318) regards MacGregor's technique for promoting native agriculture as unusually enlightened, but in fact it seems to have been almost universal in the Pacific at that period, and MacGregor had become familiar with it while serving under Sir Arthur Gordon in Fiji. Similar regulations were introduced by Germany to Samoa and New Guinea, by the United Kingdom to Fiji and the Gilbert Islands, by New Zealand to the Cook Islands and by Holland to Indonesia.

(2) MacGregor to Lamington 4.10.1898 (quoted in Healy 1962 : 84).

## Native plantations as the mainstay of agricultural policy (1918 - 40)

657 179 After the 1914-18 war, a shortage of labour, low produce prices and high shipping costs made it very difficult to attract European settlers to Papua. The emphasis of agricultural policy was therefore shifted and indigenous agriculture was seen as the only hope for the future. "If we cannot attract capital to develop the Territory", the Lieutenant-Governor wrote, "we must develop it without capital - that is, by native agriculture" (P.A.R. 1921-2 : 6). He saw two particular advantages in native agriculture over European; it did not require hired labour and it did not require large amounts of capital. It was clear the country would not be developed by the few European plantations then in operation (with a planted area of about 61,000 acres in 1923) and for the next decade at least Murray gave great emphasis to the development of "native plantations".

245 249 657 [466] In the Northern District[1] there had been little planting under the regulations since the turn of the century, but with the outbreak of the first world war the Resident Magistrate gave priority to expanding output by the compulsory planting of coconut, rubber and citrus trees, and 10,000 coconut and other economic trees were planted in 1914-15 under the direct supervision of patrol officers (P.A.R. 1914-15 : 49). By 1921 there were 46,404 coconut trees in the Orokaiva area but over half (25,642) had been planted within the previous five years. Almost all the rubber trees had been planted in the previous five years (P.A.R. 1920-1 : 48-50).

657 241 Although the regulations did not prescribe that planting was to be either by individuals or groups, in all the post-1914 instances we are aware of in the Orokaiva area, each village or cluster of villages was in fact directed to plant as a

[131]

(1) The Orokaiva area was included in the Buna and Kokoda Districts of the Northern Division until 1909, then in the Kumusi Division until 1920, and in the Northern Division (later termed the Northern District) since 1920.

## The Native Plantations Ordinance

In addition to the post-1918 drive for increased planting under the regulations a new policy was introduced with the dual aim of increasing village production and government revenue.(1) The old regulations had provided for compulsory planting only, but the new ordinance provided for continuous supervision and compulsory maintenance and harvesting of gardens, as well as processing and marketing facilities. Under the heading "Compulsory labour in the natives own interest", Sir Hubert Murray claimed that "the most obvious, and possibly the only solution is to encourage, or if necessary to compel, the native to work for his own benefit" (P.A.R. 1921-2 : 16).

The new policy was embodied in the Native Plantations Ordinance 1918 (and amendments)(2) which provided for the establishment of community plantations in which both the government and the villagers would participate. Profits were to be shared equally between the government and producers.(3) The Lieutenant-Governor was empowered to direct that any Crown land could be set aside as a Native Reserve for the purpose of establishing a plantation. Alternatively, with the consent of the land owners "whose property the land remains", plantations could be established on native land.

The earlier Native Regulations which provided for compulsory planting of cash crops were not repealed, but they seem to have been used much less after the new Ordinance became operative in the 1920's.

The available sources give little indication of the reasons for emphasis being placed on group plantations rather than individual plots, though Miles (1956 : 323) hazards the view that it facilitated control and inspection, and that the indigenous

(1) For a discussion of the emphasis on raising government revenue see Mair 1948 : 88.

(2) The Ordinance of 1918 was subsequently superceded by the Native Plantations Ordinance 1925-52, extracts from which are contained in Appendix E.

(3) The Ordinance prescribed that "half or any other proportion" of the crop was to belong to the villagers. In practice villagers were paid half the takings.

ordinance for the appointment of officers as "controllers of native plantations". The first of these, Mr. G.H. Murray, was appointed in 1920 to serve the whole Territory (P.A.R. 1920-1 : 28). It was not until 1923 that a permanent officer, Mr. A.T. Dawson, was posted to the Northern District. Neither officer had been trained in agriculture. 657 241

The people of the Northern District were reported to be receptive to the idea of having their own plantations and "practically no compulsion" was applied in getting initial agreement to the principle (P.A.R. 1923-4 : 16).

Planting began in 1923 and by 1925 fourteen of the plantations had been planted. Owing to a delay in obtaining cocoa seedlings from Java, 30 acres of cotton were planted in 1925 (P.A.R. 1924-5 : 27). The cotton experiment was a failure and was not repeated. By 1926 there were only 50 acres of cocoa, 10 acres of coffee and 6 acres of oil palm in the district.(1) Eleven of the plantations were of cocoa, one of coffee and two of oil palm. A little rice was also tried. The cocoa, oil palm and rice were soon abandoned by both government and the people owing to a drop in prices, and only the coffee was persevered with. 248 245 [249] [243]

In 1926 or 1927, a further 116 acres of land were cleared for coffee under government instructions, but the rate of expansion declined markedly thereafter. By 1936 there were 18 plantations totalling 242 acres under coffee in the Orokaiva area. 189 acres were then in bearing and the rest were expected to begin bearing by 1938. Plantings ranged in area from 4 to 30 acres. 245

Every able-bodied man between the ages of 16 and 36 years who lived within five miles of a plantation (except those employed by government, missions or European plantations) was required, by regulations under the ordinance, to work 60 245 466 [651]

(1) This figure included some private plantings in addition to those under the ordinance - P.A.R. 1926-7 : 10. Coffee seed was supplied from the government station at Higaturu.

466 days per year on the plantation of his village.(1) Those who worked 60 days or over were thereby exempted from head tax (then ten shillings per year). Those who did not were liable not only to head tax but also to a fine of £2 or imprisonment with hard labour for a period of three months.

245 466 Evidence is inconclusive as to how much work was required in practice. Despite the reference to sixty days' work per year, crops like coffee needed constant attention and if only sixty days per year were to be performed by each man, either work days would need to be staggered or workers rostered. At first government officers required 120 half-days, but in most villages once the crops were in bearing all men were required to attend every morning from Monday to Friday throughout the year.(2) None of the foremen had watches and it is impossible to know how long men worked in fact, but informants in widely separated parts of the area claim that they were required to work until noon in the coffee gardens. In addition, men took turns to carry the produce on foot to the government base at Higaturu every Saturday. This involved a walk of about fifteen miles in each direction from the Ongoho (Asigi) community block.

462 Women took no part in cash cropping, but they did most of the gardening. Men sometimes helped in the food gardens in the afternoons.

657 245 466 Reports of the period contain many references to the peoples' lack of enthusiasm for the scheme and heavy sanctions were applied by government officers to have their programme enforced. In 1925 the Resident Magistrate tried to extend the

(1) Men who had been away as indentured labourers were exempt from this requirement for three months after their return to the village.

(2) At several places near Higaturu people claimed that they were required to work afternoons also during busy periods. After such periods they would be allowed a week or more off with no plantation work. It seems likely that this was done in the villages close to Higaturu which were under closer supervision by the officer in charge of the plantations. In the more distant areas the officer seems not to have delegated any authority to vary the regular pattern. Humphries (1944 : 3) notes that the specified period of 60 days (he says three months) was not observed in practice and that "in fact men were called upon to work whenever circumstances required them".

scheme to Ioma and other areas. At Ioma "it was only when faced with the alternative of going to gaol for failure to pay tax that they were induced to work on the plantation .... In other districts the natives elected to pay their taxes in money" (P.A.R. 1925-6 : 52). The scheme survived, according to Captain Humphries (1944 : 2) who was at one stage responsible for it, "only because of the gaol that loomed in the background."

The standard penalty for failure to work was three months' imprisonment which was served by working on the government coconut plantations at Buna or Ioma, or on the government rubber plantation at Kokoda. These plantations were worked entirely by prison labour (apart from supervisory and specialist staff) and many of the older men we spoke to had served sentences for breaches of this ordinance. In fact, as Mair (1945 : 83) notes, the existence of government plantations which had no provision for paid labour acted as an incentive to prosecute for breaches of this and other laws.

Daily work on the community coffee gardens was supervised by the village constables who were thus in a position of considerable authority. Nevertheless, this role may not have been particularly congenial for the constable was as likely as anyone to be punished for failure to keep the work up to standard. There was not a constable for each village, and the constable at Ongoho, for example, was responsible for the nine Asigi villages which worked the Ongoho block.(1) The constables in turn were supervised by Papuan foremen known as "coffee bosses", each of whom was responsible for a number of communal gardens. The "coffee bosses" in turn were responsible to the European Controller of Native Plantations who was based at Higaturu.

Such was the difficulty of getting labour to carry the produce from the factory at Higaturu to the port of Sanananda (near Buna) that a special regulation was passed requiring all able-bodied men to carry produce whenever instructed to do so.(2)

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(1) For supervision of the plantation and normal police services he was paid ten shillings per year.

(2) Native Plantations (Northern Division Carrying) Regulations 1928.

245 No payment was prescribed, and none was made for carrying
466 from the plantations to the depot at Higaturu. Sometimes pay-
[465] ment was made for carrying produce the 16 miles from Higaturu to the port (usually in twist tobacco according to informants), but at other times persons convicted of breaches of the or-
[492] dinance were required to carry as punishment. Mules were later introduced to carry the produce from the factory to the
[493] port, and in the late 1930's a truck was acquired to transport it from Popondetta to Sanananda. The mule train was still used between Higaturu and Popondetta until 1940.

245 Official reports of the period consider the reluctance
177 of the villagers to have been due either to a lack of understanding of the benefits they would derive from the scheme or to innate laziness. C. T. Wurth, who was Resident Magistrate in 1926, considered that the people "had not grasped the advantages of the plantation and the benefits they will eventually reap" and noted that many men from the villages with plantations had gone off to work as labourers elsewhere (P. A. R. 1925-6 : 50). His successor described the "toil and disappointments" entailed in supervising the plantations and stated that the village people "have to be driven to it by the fear of gaol". (1) He was aware that there was no cash return during the first four years after establishment of plantations and hoped that attitudes would change as soon as the trees came into bearing and income was derived.

241 As noted on page 7, half the produce of the plantations was to belong to those who produced it and the other half to the government. But in practice in the Northern District, producers were required to deliver all produce to the government
[65] depots at Higaturu, Popondetta and Buna. (2) The half of the

(1) P. A. R. 1926-7 : 53. A later magistrate followed a policy of "incessant talking to the village councillors ... for even if they do not think his [ the magistrate's] advice worth following, they may be glad to take it as the only means of keeping him quiet" - P. A. R. 1933-4 : 29.

(2) The main depot was at Higaturu until 1941, but in that year new machinery was installed at Popondetta to handle pulping, drying and hulling. (Since 1933 the coffee had been shipped in the parchment stage to Port Moresby where it was hulled at the government rice factory). Before the Higaturu depot was closed, however, war broke out and all three depots were destroyed.

## Production and income

433 241 While official reports give laziness or misunderstanding as the reason for the lack of willing co-operation with the scheme, the reason given today by the people themselves is that the income was inadequate for the effort required.

Table 1 shows the total production of coffee from plantations established under the ordinance in the Orokaiva area for the ten year period 1931-40, and the amounts paid to producers for it. [435] The price per pound has been calculated and ranged from 4.5 pence (in 1932) at the highest to 2.1 pence (in 1938) at the lowest. The average price for the period was 2.6 pence per pound.(1)

433 434 245 [465] Table 2 shows that output per acre of land planted in coffee under the scheme averaged 681 pounds, which is a relatively high yield. At 2.6 pence per pound this would have given an income of £7.7.5 per acre. The total work force on all the plantations is estimated to have been about 700, so payment would have averaged £1.11.0 per worker per year, or less than 2 pence per day worked. The 15½ acres of coffee in the Ongoho block(2) would, assuming average yields, have given an annual income of £114.5.0, or just over £1.0.0 per worker, but informants today maintain that payment at Ongoho was usually 8/- to 12/- per man per year with young lads being paid 5/-. [464] Only on one or two occasions did the payout exceed £1. The total labour force in the nine villages which participated in the Ongoho block was probably close on 100 and yields per acre 465 were apparently lower than average. Enquiries at other communal plantations show that higher prices were paid in places where a smaller labour force was working an equally large area. [466] In Hohota, for example, £6 to £9 was paid per man in some years, but there the hours of work are said to have been 6 a.m. to noon six days a week, plus afternoon work at harvest-

[439] (1) The world trade depression had begun about the time the first coffee was coming into full production. The crop was marketed in Australia where it met strong competition from Java coffee.

(2) Our measurement of the planted area shows it to have been just over 15½ acres, though the area gazetted was only 15 acres.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 17]

ing time. Humphries (1944 : 3) estimates the annual payment per man to have ranged from a few shillings to £4 per year.

At that time some of the young single men were going out to work on plantations in return for food, accommodation and a cash wage of £6 per year. All plantations had to supply tobacco, soap, sugar and meat each week-end, and some paid wages every month (usually 10/-). But payment in cash and kind was not the only incentive to taking employment outside the district. Perhaps the main reason was the experience involved, for it seems to have become a necessary prerequisite to manhood that a youth should have been away to work. The income acquired was used at least partly to supply his bride-wealth on his return.

From discussions with many Orokaiva people who were involved in the plantations it seems that they regarded the scheme as an imposition whereby the people were required to plant coffee which the government commandeered and sold to its own profit. The annual cash payment was not viewed as a price per pound but as a token payment by government for their labour.(1) Official reports (e.g. P.A.R. 1933-4 : 27) noted that the people "complain loudly" when the payment was not up to expectations and in 1939 a demonstration occurred when the money paid out at Higaturu was thrown on the ground by the recipients.

The plantations were undoubtedly overstaffed and workers should not have been under any strain to complete their tasks. With 700 workers for the 242 acres of coffee there was an average of nearly three workers to the acre, though allowance must be made for their having to carry the produce to the depot and in some cases to pulp it also. At Ongoho there were six to the acre, though walking to and from the job must have

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(1) It is still quite widely held that produce prices are fixed by government, and that in the same way as Europeans are paid higher wages, they receive higher prices for their coffee. Humphries (1944 : 2) noted that the people regarded "working for the government" on native plantations as much less remunerative than working for a planter.

taken as much time as the work itself for some of them.(1) 245

Under ideal conditions each worker could probably have handled one to two acres working mornings only. Such, however, was the government's enthusiasm for instilling regular work habits (or at least regular attendance at the place of work) that no roster system seems to have been worked out to ensure that workers attended for the minimum time necessary to complete their tasks. It is not difficult to understand that, though fear of imprisonment kept the project going, there was little enthusiasm for it in the villages. [466] [461]

(1) Girigirita and Oere were about an hour's walk each way from the coffee block.

## Post-war community plantations (1945 - 62)

177 65 [241] Shortly after the outbreak of war with Japan, government services were reduced to a minimum, coffee buying ceased and the community cash crop gardens were soon abandoned. The Orokaiva area became the scene of intense fighting between Japanese and Australian-American Forces during 1942 and 1943 and civilian government was not restored until 1945. No further Commissioners for Native Plantations were ever appointed but towards the end of 1944 an Agriculture Officer (Mr. F. Shaw) was posted to Higaturu. One of his tasks was to [461] get the pre-war plantations into production again. Most informants today say they had no wish to resume work on the plantations owing to the low payments made pre-war, which they assumed would continue. Their association with Amercian forces had led them to consider their labour to be worth considerably more than pre-war rates. However the military [466] administration (A.N.G.A.U.) was then still in charge of the Territory, and they were instructed to recommence work on the plantations.

245 466 The pre-war system whereby every man worked on the coffee each morning from Monday to Friday was resumed, though supervision was transferred from the village constable to a "coffee boss", one of whom was appointed by the government to oversee each plantation.

465 [434] Penal sanctions were less severe than pre-war, the usual punishment for failure to attend work being one month's imprisonment instead of three, but before long the sanctions were relaxed and few people were convicted. Income was higher, for whereas before the war the villagers were paid only half of the proceeds of the crop, after the war they were paid the full price.(1) Ongoho people inform us that annual payouts after the war were £6 to £9 per man per year, and in addition

(1) The Native Plantations (Papua) Ordinance of 1952 provided for the total value of the crop to be paid in cash to the producers. In practice, the policy had been followed for several years before that.

foodstuffs and for ceremonial exchanges and some urged the people to deposit their compensation money in a central fund for use by the community as a whole. Many leaders took this advice and collected large sums for the co-operatives. Some of the money was kept in the villages, but some was contributed to central funds which were held on a tribal or sub-tribal basis.

Few of the leaders had the technical knowledge to know how to handle the funds or to apply them to productive projects, and much of the money was dissipated in unproductive activities. About 1950 government Co-operative Officers were sent to assist the establishment of formal co-operatives and to save the many existing informal co-operatives from disintegration with consequent public loss of faith. The officers were able to make headway in some instances, but in other cases the funds were already exhausted and the people disillusioned. In cases where the funds remained, the government insisted on their being handed back to the original contributors before any official co-operative was formed (Belshaw, 1951 : 250).

Efforts to increase indigenous participation in commercial agriculture in the Northern District in the post-war decade had met with little success and in 1954 the Department of Native Affairs resumed pre-war patterns of promoting commercial agriculture. Additional police were stationed in the area, particularly on the inland side of the Kumusi River but to a lesser extent among the Orokaiva also. One policeman was based at each of a number of villages and each village was required to clear a community garden for cocoa planting.

The Department of Agriculture staff did not favour any extension of community planting and put its emphasis on individual cash crop gardens but, in the early stages at least, this action was strongly opposed by both the mission and the patrol staff. Missionaries who were involved feared that individual cash cropping would lead to abandonment of the villages as each individual would probably want to live near his own cash crop garden. They felt that this would result in a reduction of religious and educational activity and may lead to a resurgence of non-Christian practices. Patrol staff too opposed individual plantings at that time, in some instances it seems because of an erroneous notion that traditional agriculture was

likely to emerge. Problems of work organization and income distribution may nevertheless arise.(1)

Problems of work organization: The communal plantations almost all involved several unrelated descent groups which traditionally recognized no single leader. The Orokaiva did occasionally form larger ad hoc groups for warfare and sometimes for forest clearing, but these were temporary associations directed to the achievement of a short term goal. This of itself does not preclude the formation of new and larger groupings with unitary leadership provided there is either a strong desire for group action (and the necessary institutions to direct it), or strong external sanctions to enforce it.

The earliest communal plantings of coconuts and rubber by the Orokaiva were carried out under instructions from officials and sufficient pressure was exerted to ensure compliance. The pressure was not, however, maintained and the coconut and rubber trees were little cared for after planting. Nor was harvesting for market enforced. Prices were low; the coconuts were seldom made into copra and the rubber was never tapped until the time of the war.(2)

The working of the coffee planted under the Native Plantations Ordinance was strictly supervised. A village constable was in charge of each local group, the European officer in charge patrolled the area regularly, and defaulters were severely punished. The communities regarded the whole operation as one of oppression by the government. During the period that government sanctions were reduced and finally withdrawn, coffee prices were high (more than ten times higher than immediately pre-war). Many people therefore wished to continue working the coffee gardens, but the community was not traditionally equipped with adequate sanctions to ensure that individuals did their share of work, and the law specifically forbade the exercise of sanctions by any indigenous individual or group.

(1) Since writing this we have been informed of a small (3 acre) communal tobacco-growing project which began at Soroputa in 1948 on the land of a single descent group. It was reported to have functioned efficiently until it was destroyed by the Mt. Lamington eruption in 1951.

(2) For details of the war-time rubber-tapping scheme see Rimoldi, 1964.

As Mair (1948 : 85) has noted, the fact that officials could fall back on compulsion gave them no encouragement to considering any alternative approach. The European officer's link with the people was through the village constable, and from what the Orokaiva tell us this line of communication operated in one direction only, for most constables felt that it was improper to query instructions given by Europeans, or to make suggestions to them. Not only was no attempt made to create local institutions which could have carried responsibility for community projects, but the imposed organizational structure did not provide the people with an acceptable model on which to fashion any new local institution. The vesting of all powers of sanction in the central government, moreover, forestalled the possibility of their spontaneous emergence.

Problems of income distribution: While the Administration paid each individual separately, no overt problem arose, but when government ceased buying and the coffee was sold to a trading company a lump sum was given to the person or persons who brought it in, usually the local coffee boss. Relatively few Orokaiva were literate (among the Asigi there were none) though it may have been possible to have made equal payments to all persons. However, as the community was unable to enforce equal work this was not feasible. Had there been a sufficient standard of literacy it may have been possible to operate on co-operative rather than communal lines (i.e. making payment in terms of work contributed) but in fact few people had the necessary degree of literacy and almost none had any knowledge of book-keeping.

Problems of motivation: The Orokaiva were never willing participants in any of the communal schemes (with the exception of rice growing in 1949). Some of them may have begun some of the projects willingly, but continued operation was only achieved by force. The money incentive was quite inadequate: most of the schemes produced no income at all, and those that did gave less (in cash and kind) than employment elsewhere. As already noted in the section on work organization, there was no social incentive to continued production.

It has been suggested that the pre-war community projects were merited in that they introduced the people to the

## Appendix D

### Native Regulation No. 121(1)
### (Providing for compulsory planting of economic trees)

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### Coconuts and other useful trees and plants

(1) It is a good thing to plant coconuts and other useful fruits and trees, and all coconuts and trees planted under this regulation shall belong to the person that plants them and to his heirs, and every able-bodied man shall from time to time plant coconuts and other useful trees and plants. The Magistrate shall fix the number of trees or the area of land as the case may be that the able-bodied men of each district or village shall plant, and coconuts shall be properly planted at a distance not less than five fathoms from tree to tree.

(2) All men will not have to plant the same number of coconuts and other useful trees, on the same area of land because some men have little land and some have much and some places are not good for planting trees.

(3) It shall be the duty of the village constable to see that this regulation is obeyed in such villages as the Magistrate directs, and if he fails or neglects to do so he shall on conviction be liable to a fine not exceeding Two shillings and sixpence or in default of payment to imprisonment for any period not exceeding Seven days, or to imprisonment in the first instance for any period not exceeding Seven days.

(4) The Magistrate shall also, where deemed desirable, order the people to plant and cultivate useful food trees along the village road so that they may all enjoy the shade and eat of the fruit.

(5) The Government may provide the people from time to time with young trees or seeds to plant, and the Magistrate will direct the people where to plant them.

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(1) Native Regulation Ordinance 1908-30.

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(6) If any native who has been ordered to plant and cultivate a certain number of trees or a certain area of land by the Magistrate wilfully neglects or refuses to do so he shall on conviction for a first offence be liable to a fine not exceeding Five shillings or in default of payment to imprisonment for any period not exceeding Six weeks, or to such imprisonment in the first instance; or, for a second or any subsequent offence to imprisonment in the first instance for any period not exceeding Three months.

Sub-clauses (7) to (9) cover minor points of detail and have been omitted.

This regulation was amended in 1946 such that planting could be forced thereafter only in the event of serious food shortages.

## Appendix E

## Extracts from Native Plantations Ordinance 1925-52 and subsidiary enactments

"4. (1) The Lieutenant-Governor may ... direct that any land acquired or resumed under the provisions of the Land Ordinance 1911-24 ... shall be a native plantation ....

(2) The Lieutenant-Governor with the consent of the native owners may ... direct that any land shall be a native plantation ... and shall remain so until the Lieutenant-Governor otherwise orders but the land shall remain the property of the native owners.

4. (A) The Lieutenant-Governor may appoint officers to carry out the provisions of this ordinance. Such officers shall be known as controllers of native plantations ....

5. (1) Statutory workers[1] shall work for such number of days each year as may be prescribed ....

(2) For cultivation work ... the Lieutenant-Governor may ... remit tax.[2]

8. (1) Of the total annual produce of each native plantation one half or such other proportion as the Lieutenant-Governor may order[3] ...

1. Defined as "every able-bodied male villager" aged between 16 and 36 years excepting government or mission employees and indentured workers.

2. Order in Council of 2.7.1924 ruled that no tax would be payable by any villager who worked for two months per year on the plantation.

3. No proportion was ever gazetted but it is understood that one half was invariably taken.

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(a) may be distributed in kind by the Government among the villagers ...

(b) may be sold by the Government on account of the villagers ...

(c) may be purchased by the Government from the villagers ...

423 9. The remainder of the annual produce of each native plantation ... shall be the property of the Crown".

466 Native Plantations Regulations 1926, made under the above ordinance, prescribed that statutory workers had to work sixty days per year on their plantation. It also provided that "supervision and regulating native plantations and the cultivation thereof" was vested in the Director of Native Taxation.

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Order in Council of 20.9.1926 made the following provisions for the distribution of the villagers' share of income derived from native plantations:

"1. That each one-half or other proportion of each year's produce which is the property of native villagers ... shall be divided among the statutory workers and voluntary workers in the proportions that the number of days which each of them respectively has worked during the year bears to the aggregate number of days which all of them have worked on the native plantation in the cultivation thereof ....

Provided that where any statutory worker (who has by death or age ceased to be such) or where any voluntary worker (who has ceased to be such or has died) has previously worked on a native plantation for any time during any year during which the prescribed plant cultivated thereon has not come into bearing or is unproductive then he (or, in case of his death, his widow, or in case of her death, his child or children whilst under the age or apparent age of sixteen years) shall be entitled to receive

during the first productive year of the native plantation such part of the produce thereof as is the property of the villagers as the proportion which the number of hours he worked (in his first year of work) whilst the native plantation was unproductive bears towards the total number of hours which all statutory workers and voluntary workers worked in that year and so on yearly mutatis mutandis until he (or his widow or children as the case may be) has received such part of the produce in respect of each unproductive year he worked on such native plantation.

2. That instead of allotting the proportion of the annual produce of a native plantation in the manner set out in the proviso to Paragraph 1 hereof the nearest Resident Magistrate ... may be required by the Director of Native Taxation to confer with the villagers in their village and ascertain what other scheme of allotment of such annual produce they themselves consider to be preferable .... The Magistrate shall report the result of such conference to the Director who shall forward it with any observations he desires to make to the Lieutenant-Governor who may approve the scheme preferred by the villagers with or without modification whereupon that scheme of allotment as approved shall be followed in relation to such annual produce instead of the scheme ordered in the said proviso.

Officers to be instructed to adopt 2 when practicable."

Native Plantations (Papua) Ordinance 1952 provided that the villagers would own the whole of the produce of the plantation instead of half as formerly. This ordinance also did away with the earlier requirement that villagers work 60 days per year on the plantation, and cancelled the provision whereby persons who worked on plantations for two months were exempt from tax.

464 The older men in the sample were restricted in employment
166 opportunities to indentured labour usually outside the Northern
District. The young men on the other hand readily leave village
466 life temporarily to take casual work on European plantations in
the district where there is now a greater demand for labour. They
may leave their wives and children to be provided for in the mean-
time by the other side of the family or may have them accompany
them to the area where they are employed. These absences interrupt
the routine of subsistence activities for the family but the possi-
bility of this course of action is left open by local environmental
conditions and the virtual independence of the nuclear family as
a gardening unit. There is little seasonal variability and this
small group is free to resume any phase of garden activities when
and where it chooses.

431 Among the 5 able-bodied and active men of the senior group
there seems to be no consistent demand for cash which cannot be
met by gifts from their kin or affines and they have sought
temporary employment only as a means of meeting some immediate
financial requirements. With the exception of the salaried local
government councillor the older men received 78 per cent of their
total year's income of $88 as gifts.

431 By taking employment more frequently the younger men acquire
454 income which they gradually spend on the range of consumer goods
available locally as well as on kinship obligations. However,
not all income is spent in this way and, as Belshaw found in this
area (1951:11) there is both some capital available for investment
and a willingness to contribute money to funds for this purpose if
they can be organized.

The men who have spent most years in paid employment also
supplement their income by producing rubber and coffee, sometimes
with the assistance of their fathers. However, no one has invested
heavily in these crops and they provided only $52 or 15.8 per cent
of the sample's income for the year.

245 c. Commercial agriculture

(1) Coffee. Four householders in the sample have individual
coffee plots with a total of 503[1] trees on 1 acre of land. One of
these plots is a section of a former village or 'company' coffee
plot. About the time of the opening of the Higaturu Council in
1956 members of Jegase, Timumu and other groups in Sivepa
and Binduta villages participated in the planting of 2 'company'

[1] The agricultural census of 1964 recorded 1,100 trees held by 3
growers in Sivepa as a whole (162 were not yet 6 years old and 491
of the trees had been planted more than 10 years before).

249 planting was still being encouraged. The trees planted in the district were for long the only Papuan-owned rubber plots.

249 657 These trees had been planted under Native Regulation No.121, first passed in 1903 but not enforced in this division until the first world war. The legislation states that 'it is a good thing to plant coconuts and other useful fruits and trees.... The Magistrate shall fix the number of trees or the area of land, as the case may be, that the able-bodied men of each district shall plant' (Native Regulation Ordinance 1908-30).

46 249 657 [245] We could not determine how much compulsion was involved in establishing each of these 'plantations' but in 1921 the Assistant Resident Magistrate reported that planting in the district needed more supervision than one officer could provide and in 1922 the Lieutenant-Governor said that the threat of force was necessary to ensure the success of the policy of agricultural expansion under the regulation (Territory of Papua 1921-2). A particular reason for resistance in this district may have been the official priority given to rubber whereas it was reported ' the natives prefer coconuts due to their food value' (Territory of Papua 1920-1). A person who refused to plant was liable to a fine of 3 shillings or 6 weeks' imprisonment or to 3 months' imprisonment for a second offence.

249 The people of 3 villages, Pusahambo, Euru and Asina, were directed to co-operate in the planting of one of the stands near Sivepe. After the people of Asina had declined to provide land it was agreed that the plantation should be established on a parcel already partly cleared near Pusahambo. Part of this land belongs to Timumu people and part to Jegase; and although 1 Timumu lineage sometimes assert that they also hold residual rights in the Jegase section of the land, they appear never to have questioned the rights of the members of Jegase and Seho clan branches to the trees.

The only other plantation to which any member of the sample has rights is Korinasusu. This also is on land divided between members of 2 different clans, Jegase (Bebehupa lineage) and Usohu, who disputed the exact boundary when we enquired about it, but have generally been able to agree on the rights to tap the trees.

249 657 It seems that the rubber project in the district was designed so that, from the start, the owners of the rubber should themselves handle much of the production and processing. They were encouraged to plant lime trees 'so that they can coagulate latex with lime-juice and smoke a fair sheet of rubber for market' (Territory of Papua 1920-1). However, no facilities for the manufacture or processing of latex or rubber were introduced. The people claim that after the planting regulation had been enforced, the trees

not necessarily leaders in the old authority structure but often people with particular experience of white rule (e.g., policemen).[1] Both cults were suppressed by the Administration although the Taro cult persisted until 1928 and possibly reappeared in the Gona-Buna area in 1941 (Worsley 1957:124), concurrent with rumours of imminent Japanese landings.

The ending of inter-tribal skirmishing, which directly affected the social roles of the sexes, also extended the physical range of interactions open to individuals and resulted in the proliferation of hamlet groups, comprising single clan-branches, i.e. a fragmentation of the main villages. Administrative efforts in this period were directed towards countering this latter process and concentrating settlements along the roads to facilitate supervision, encouraging improved building styles (particularly the erection of houses on stilts above the ground) and establishing more ordered 'line' villages built around a central square.

(b) Commencement of cash cropping

From its beginnings the mainstay of government policy was the encouragement of indigenous cash cropping. Regulations introduced in 1894 and 1903 provided for compulsory plantings of economic trees, particularly coconuts, rubber and citrus, but few were exploited commercially. Under the Native Plantations Ordinance 1918 and the Native Plantations Ordinances 1925-52, twenty-six community plantations were established in the Orokaiva area with both government and villagers participating.[2] Cocoa, coffee, oil palm, cotton, tobacco and rice were all tried; however, owing to a fall in prices, all but coffee were abandoned. According to Crocombe (1964:16), there was no enthusiasm among the people for the scheme as they considered the cash returns inadequate: each man was required to work sixty full days per year and returns varied from less than $1 to $8 per year, which was well below the returns from working on European plantations at that time. Some 10,000 trees, predominantly coconut, were planted in 1914-15 in the Orokaiva area and by 1921 it was estimated that there were 46,404 coconut trees in the Northern Division and some 7,000 rubber trees (mostly in the Awala area). The planting of coffee commenced in 1923 and by 1936 there were

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1 Such a development may well also have been characterised by the building up of more extensive group solidarities. Burridge (1960:25) does suggest, however, that the Taro cult may have been a particular expression of a similar type of cult occurring in the pre-contact era.

2 Proceeds deriving from the sale of the crops were shared on a 50-50 basis. For a detailed treatment of these communal plantings see Crocombe 1964.

242 acres[1] which yielded 84 tons of hulled coffee in 1938-39. Some 1,000 cocoa trees were also planted in the pre-war period, although only the copra and coffee were worked during this time. All commercial agriculture ceased with the Japanese invasion in the second world war and was again interrupted by the eruption of Mt Lamington in 1951. The principle of compulsion was withdrawn in the same year and community enterprise largely ceased in the mid 1950s with an increasing trend towards individual plantings. The whole scheme was characterised not only by low returns to labour, delays in payment,[2] frequent disputed claims to plantings and serious problems in work organisation, but also by a definite feeling of resentment on the part of the indigenous participants.

(c) War and natural disaster

The Orokaiva view of the government was no doubt influenced by the second world war, which led to the Japanese occupation of the Northern District from July 1942 to January 1943, and by the eruption of Mt Lamington in January 1951, causing the death of over 4,000 people and the destruction of the district headquarters and staff at Higaturu.

The impact of the Japanese invasion and subsequent Allied re-advance has never been assessed but must be considered profound. All Australian administration ceased and, when resumed, was vested in the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU), a military authority. Several thousand men co-opted as carriers by both Australians and Japanese worked under very arduous conditions.[3] Since the Orokaiva lay athwart the main Buna-Kokoda route which was the scene of fierce fighting, many villagers retreated into the surrounding hills where they were obliged to subsist on very limited resources because of the absence of much of the potential labour force.[4] Others sided with the Japanese or profited by the power vacuum to attack or betray Allied troops and civilians or to assert their authority over other Orokaiva. On resumption of Australian rule, twenty-two men were sentenced for such deeds by a military tribunal and publicly hanged at Sangara and Higaturu.[5]

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[1] An estimated 111,000 trees at a spacing of 10 by 10 feet.

[2] As much as three years lapsing between delivery and payment (see DDA, DS-17-4-5).

[3] For details of terms for the conscription and of conditions, see McCarthy 1959:116, 132.

[4] A 1948 report refers to a rapidly decreasing population on the northern slopes of Mt Lamington and attributes it in part to the war when many died from malnutrition while hiding in the bush (Higaturu 29-8-33).

[5] A European informant stated that 'several thousand Orokaiva' witnessed the execution, the women 'wailing and mutilating themselves'.

461 Although returns to labour from paid work are substantially less than from cash cropping,[1] medical work is popular among young people [464] because of their participation in a group with common interests, while contract work, being more casual than most forms of paid work, enables most village activities to be pursued concurrently with it. An important consideration for the married person is that such work can be done while continuing to reside with one's family in the village.

512 (iii) Other activities. Of activities associated with the external sector of the economy, it is the 'non-productive' which are 177 the most time-consuming: 5.8 hours per man-week are devoted to the [797] external agencies, 3.0 of them to the church. The proximity of Sivepe to an Anglican mission head station run by an expatriate largely accounts for this as church activities tend to be more highly organised and frequent than on an out-station, so much so that during the Easter church festival, 13.1 hours per man-week were absorbed by services (week 8). Similarly labour requirements, in terms of voluntary assistance in erecting and maintaining buildings, are far greater at a head station.

Church activities reached a peak during period II with the Feast of St Mary Magdelene, the visit of a bishop, and the reconstruction of school classrooms. During period III a marked decline was registered, largely due to the general resentment of the villagers at what they considered to be excessive demands placed on their time during the preceding dry season. It was felt these demands had conflicted with major village activities such as cash cropping and the increased urgency of the food quest at that time.

[797] Formal gatherings or meetings are a recurrent aspect of village life. Of the 1.3 hours per man-week spent at them, 42 per cent is in connection with the Administration - at census takings, court cases, etc. - and a further 26 per cent with women's organisations - the Administration-sponsored women's club and the mothers' union run by the Anglican mission. The balance of the time is divided between political, OCGS and Oro Ltd meetings and disputes within the village.

● [466] The local government council dictates that one day per week be [651] spent on road maintenance and upkeep of the village area. It also requires that all adults present themselves, annually, for tax payments and that all births and deaths are registered. Altogether this council work amounts to 1.2 hours per man-week.

[432] While Sivepe is close to a number of trade stores, the people's limited requirements from them results in little time (0.4 hours per man-week) being spent in the purchase of goods.

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[1] For a detailed analysis of comparative returns to labour see pp.290, 292.

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the nuts to the drier. The various stages of processing took up 12.4 man-hours and 7.5 man-hours were spent in bagging and selling the 75 lbs of copra. The entrepreneur sold the copra to the Motu Native Co-operative Society at Oro Bay and by getting a lift there and back he spent only 4.4 hours on what would have been a 10-hour journey by foot. The total input of labour on the second batch of copra was 30.7 man-hours and the total return was $2.32, or under 8c per man-hour. This return disregards establishment and maintenance costs; however, as the palms used had been planted for subsistence purposes and maintenance is rare, the additional costs were negligible. They would only become significant if people planted large numbers of trees specifically for copra. This was the intention of several men. As is shown on pp.292-3, the return to labour in copra production is higher than the normal return from casual labouring and during 1965, after the survey had ended, copra was made regularly by the villagers, including the four men who had obtained work in Popondetta. Assuming that the efficiency of harvesting and processing increased with experience, it seems likely that the cash returns also increased during 1965.

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(ii) Other activities. Involvement with the external agencies takes an average of 3.2 hours per person per week. Most of this time is spent by women in cleaning the village area, defined as 'council work', which also includes a total of 42.5 hours spent by villagers in the first week paying taxes to the council. Church services occupy 0.9 hours a week; the entrepreneur holds a half-hour weekly service in the chapel and sometimes people go to larger services at Ijika church, particularly for major church festivals and confirmation ceremonies. People from the neighbouring villages of Mosou and Hahemo often attend the chapel services, which are also a social occasion, with people in their best clothes and even gambling afterwards. Perhaps mainly for this reason, non-Christians occasionally attend the services as 'hearers' (in the mission terminology). Little time is spent on purchasing goods in trade stores. The most regularly used stores are the one in the village, those at Ijika and the settlement blocks (which are about one hour's walk from Inonda), and those in Popondetta - particularly Oro Ltd's store and stores owned by Chinese - about 2.75 hour's walk away. Despite the distance to Popondetta, it is frequently visited, often by getting a lift from a passing truck (or, during the survey, from the researchers). Little time was spent in meetings: 57.6 man-hours were spent on the day of polling for the House of Assembly and most of the rest was expended by the entrepreneur in discussions with administrative and agricultural personnel in Popondetta. In addition, one woman attended the Hohota Women's Club meetings during period I before the club ceased functioning.

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Social obligations involve individuals for an average of 4.2 hours per week. During 1964 in Inonda, only 0.2 hours per week (76 hours in all) were related to life crises and these were almost

8: Waddell & Krinks E-4,5 (1964-1965) 1968 QJ23 Orokaiva QJ23

Table 13:2

Some returns to labour from cash-producing activities other than cash cropping

| Activity | Village | No. of payments | Total hours worked | Return | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | Total ($) | Per hour ($) |
| 'Marketing' pig | Sivepe | 1 | 4.8 | 8.15 | 1.70 |
| Contracting | Inonda* | 1 | 54.2 | 36.00 | 0.66 |
| Sale of timber | " * | 2 | 56.8 | 20.00 | 0.35 |
| Labouring, for army | " | 6 | 7.2 | 2.40 | 0.33 |
| Operation of trade store | " * | 0 | 6.2 per week** | 1.59 per week | 0.26 |
| Election work | " * | 1 | 21.8 | 4.00 | 0.18 |
| Gambling | " | 8 | 95.0 | 11.30 | 0.12 |
| Labouring, for contractor | " | 6 | 323.1 | 36.00 | 0.11 |
| Marketing fish and meat | " | 19 | 272.7 | 25.70 | 0.09 |
| Marketing produce | Sivepe | 11 | 100.3 | 9.45 | 0.09 |
| Labouring, for settler | Inonda | 2 | 199.7 | 9.00 | 0.05*** |
| Labouring, for road construction | " | 2 | 157.5 | 8.40 | 0.05 |
| Contracting | Sivepe | 1 | 271.2 | 6.00 | 0.02 |
| Medical work | " | 1 | 53.7 per week | 0.26 per week | 0.05 |

* Indicates activities only undertaken by the entrepreneur at Inonda.
** All rates per week are expressed as means.
*** In addition to cash, the labourer received at least one meal of taro or rice a day.



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accessible by road, enable more efficient agriculture extension services, facilitate pest and disease control, and permit a centrally located cocoa fermentary.

To ensure competent local supervision of the establishment of the cocoa plantings, the Agriculture Department Extension Service built a village on the north bank of Ononda Creek. Here trainee agricultural field-workers lived while they worked with the Yega advising and assisting them in the unfamiliar tasks of laying out their blocks, 'lining' the shade trees and ensuring correct spacing of the cocoa trees. The D.A.O. entrusted a local Yega man (Napoleon Aiga of Sambori clan) with the supervision of this work. Although he is not a trained agricultural worker (he was a clerk in the agriculture office at Ioma when selected for the job), Napoleon is a man of great drive and ability; he had the confidence of the Yega and was able to direct and control the trainees who worked with the villagers in the early stages of the scheme.

Beginning in May 1960, an area approximately 7 by 120 chains was rapidly cleared by communal labour with most of the men of all Yega clans taking part. Provision was made for a road down the centre of the cleared area; 48 blocks were marked off, 24 on each side of the central road on 5-chain frontages. The number of blocks was based on the number of men who originally showed interest in participating in the project, plus two special blocks: one was allocated to the mission and one beside the Gona-Popondetta road was reserved as the site for a future fermentary. The remaining 46 blocks were allocated by ballot to participants in the work. The 46 men to whom blocks were allocated represented almost all Yega lineages; those lineages not represented were ones in which only old people remained in the villages, the young men having left home to work in paid employment elsewhere. After the ballot, one week was allowed for voluntary exchanges before a firm list of blockholders was drawn up. This firm list was, however, still subject to alteration within the framework of the traditional Yega land tenure system. Any cultivator considered to be unsatisfactory could be disciplined by the land custodian; if a blockholder failed repeatedly to comply with the standards expected he could be dispossessed, and his block reallocated to another cultivator. One such reallocation did, in fact, take place late in 1960.[1]

[1] The blockholder ignored three warnings from Nixon about his laziness. As a result he was dispossessed and his block allocated to another cultivator; compensation of $3 for work done already was paid by the new blockholder.

245 434 half acres of coffee or cocoa. This would yield no income for the first four years and a maximum of £100 per year thereafter at current prices. This assumes an absence of land problems and crop disease. Even so, the prospect must be heavily discounted because of its uncertainty. Wage labour is now available [464] [465] to a limited extent at a rate of £150 per year in town areas and about £75 per year in rural areas.(1) At the time the coffee was planted, paid employment was scarcer and wages much lower.

471 245 [654] [494] Capital: Almost no capital is used in primary production in Inonda. The few tools needed for small scale production are easily acquired from current income, the land is not an item involving monetary cost, coffee seeds are available from neighbouring gardens and cocoa pods are supplied by the Department of Agriculture at nominal cost. One man in a neighbouring village has a coffee huller in which the Inonda people have small shares, but as the Orokaiva Coffee Growers Society (to which the Inonda growers belong) provides for all other processing, there is no need for any other equipment in the villages. Although the introduction of capital may increase output, considerable increases in output are possible without it, and capital cannot be regarded as a serious limiting factor in Inonda cash cropping at this stage.

164 461 Health: During the period of the survey about 7% of time was accounted for by sickness and caring for the sick, but details of sickness were not recorded for those who were in mourning in their houses. The total for the period is estimated at 10% of all time accounted for. From superficial enquiries malaria seems to be the main cause of illness but other common ailments seen during our stay were filariasis, gastro-enteritis and influenza. The suitability of the diet for sustained hard work is not known, though it was noticed that men seldom work two days in succession on heavy labour like bush clearing (though they performed regular heavy work for wages). On several occasions when the nights were particularly cold the people got up shortly after midnight and sat around fires for the rest of the night to

[466] [511] (1) Indentured labour is paid less, but relatively few Orokaiva are prepared to accept indenture. Direct comparison of gross incomes from cash cropping as against urban employment ignores the fact that food and housing costs are much higher in town.

472 to the Northern District none has lived within a village community in the way almost all Orokaiva live today. Their houses are built on their farms adjacent to their cash crops rather than in a village. The farms of A and B are within half a mile of their villages but C's farm is two miles away, while D, occupying a resettlement block, is nearly a hundred miles from his home village. (There were no resettlement schemes closer at the time.) The first three men were joined in their new houses by relatives, in addition to their own nuclear families, who lived with, or adjacent to, them and assisted in the cash-cropping.

472 464 The four entrepreneurs had engaged in paid work for periods ranging from twelve to twenty-five years, with an average of seventeen. This is considerably longer than the average for village Orokaiva,[1] and the entrepreneurs have each been engaged in a much wider range of occupations than ordinary villagers.

472 The work experience of one of the successful entrepreneurs, B, had been mainly in cash-cropping activities, but the other three had had little such experience and none of them had any experience or training in retail trading. On the other hand, all four had held posts involving considerable responsibility over people and property.[2] [466] [463]

472 554 153 A factor which can only be a matter of conjecture at this stage, is that all four men appear to have drawn on the example of specific persons as models for their actions. Their aspirations to higher consumption standards, better housing, motor vehicles, education for their children, etc., appear to be very similar to those of the village Orokaiva people with whom I have worked. The main difference seems to be that most village people regard these goals as largely unattainable by methods at present open to them and are still seeking a clearer 'way' or 'road' to prosperity, whereas the four entrepreneurs have seen their goals as attainable by drawing on the models known to them from personal experience.[3] This is not to suggest that they have clear-cut or well formulated plans for development, nor that they are familiar with the economics of

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[1] Household heads at Inonda had spent an average of ten years in paid employment (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963b:59) and at Sivepe six and a half years (Rimoldi 1966:82).

[2] Their positions have included cook, labour recruiter, charge over food and equipment stores, foreman of plantations, of a coffee factory and of an oil exploration team, and police sergeant.

[3] In all four cases the models were European, but in the case of Numbuk of Erap (Crocombe and Hogbin 1963a:1) the model was a successful New Guinean entrepreneur. [177]

241 472 592 423 Later again, in line with an agricultural officer's recommendation, he encouraged each son to plant individually. He proposes that his gardens should be inherited by his sons jointly, with work and profits being shared by them.

428 B's bachelor brother speaks of the cash crops as B's even though both have worked on them equally together, but says that B 'looks after' financial and other matters on his behalf. Whichever of them dies first the other will inherit, but when both die the assets will be inherited by B's only surviving son, a former teacher who shares no interest in cash-cropping.

C claims sole rights to his plantation on the ground that he has compensated his brothers for their help with gifts and by assisting them to establish their own cash crops. There is reason to believe, however, that if C dies before his children are adult, his brothers will probably claim a share. Some other people of [518] C's village regard the plantation as belonging to several sub-clans jointly and their challenge to his rights was a real threat until he was issued a formal lease.

472 241 464 [654] D has no younger brothers, but he did have a government loan (though it was not intended for hiring labour). With the loan and gross profits from his store (see p.11 ff.) he has hired a total of seven workers at various times. As with the labour occasionally hired by the other entrepreneurs, they have all left within a few months of engagement. The employers give no adequate explanation for this and, as I have been unable to contact the former employees, the reasons can only be postulated. In some cases the employer has had insufficient money to pay them but this has not always been the case. Almost all employees have come from twenty to a hundred miles away and most are from different language and culture groups from the employing entrepreneurs. This may well [466] be due to the fact that the employer-employee relationship, with its clear-cut subordination, has no traditional precedent and is [591] incompatible with Orokaiva notions of appropriate interpersonal relationships. New relationships of this kind are probably easier to establish with strangers and outside one's own community.

Since his attempts to engage permanent paid labour were not [621] successful, in recent years A has frequently arranged for the [602] people within his hamlet (his children, his brothers and their children, two father's brother's sons and all their spouses) to undertake short-term tasks such as clearing or harvesting. At the end of each task he compensates them in cash or store goods. None of the others has developed this sort of arrangement.

472 654 The entrepreneurs have all benefited from assistance given by government officers. Before the war A marketed his coffee through the government and he speaks of the Resident Magistrate assisting him to import and install a coffee machine and open a bank account.

Even those entrepreneurs who engaged relatives were not in favour of doing so, and none hired unrelated members of the same village. The traditional complex of relationships within the village tends to undermine the authority of a local employer, and this makes it difficult for entrepreneurs to enforce their orders. Wherever possible, they hire workers whose contact with the village in which the crop or store is located is minimal. They are usually hired as short-term casual labour on cash crops and are rarely employed in the stores. The employer-employee relationship has no traditional precedent and entrepreneurs try to follow their conception of a European model.

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Table 11

No. of co-operating adult male kin

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 1 | E | 4 | I | 2 |
| B | 1 | F | 1 | J | 2 |
| C | 3 | G | 4 | K | 3 |
| D | 4 | H | 2 | L | 3 |
| Average | 2.25 | | 2.75 | | 2.5 |

Table 12

Labour engaged by entrepreneurs to help with cash crops

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| Entrepreneur | Labour: Extended family or siblings No. | Period | Payment | Non-relatives from same village | Non-relatives from difference village No. | Period | Payment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | - | | | - | 1<br>1 | 1 month<br>2 months | $3/month and food<br>- do - |
| B | - | | | - | - | | |
| C | 3 | occasional | 50c per week | - | - | | |
| D | 4 | 6 months establishing | food | - | - | | |
| E | 4 | occasional | food and clothing | - | 4 | establishment | $4 per fortnight |
| F | - | previous casual help | food, etc. | - | - | | |
| G | 4 | occasional | store goods, food and pigs | - | - | | |
| H | - | | | - | 1<br>1 | 1 month<br>3 months | $4 per month |
| I | 2 | occasional | food and clothing | - | - | | |
| J | 1 | regular | food, no cash yet | - | - | | |
| K | 2 | occasional | food, etc. | - | 1 | occasional | $1.50 per fortnight |
| L | 2 | short period | $2.50 per week | used to employ 3. Abandoned as unsatisfactory. | 3 | occasional | $2.50 per week |

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[A villager shows off the fighting head-dress of his father. It is intricately made of boar tusks, shells, feathers, and hornbill beaks.]

# THE YEGA OF NORTHERN PAPUA

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THE Yega is a group of nearly 900 people living in sixteen settlements, on an area of about twelve square miles, on the north coast of Papua. They live on a gently sloping alluvial plain between Mt Lamington and the sea. Yega territory is bounded by one large stream and crossed by several small creeks.

137 The plain was originally covered by mature rain forest 100-120 feet high, interspersed with elongated strips of grassland. Now, much of the original forest has been cut down, and secondary forest forty to fifty feet high has

132 replaced it. The climate is hot and wet throughout the year (Köppen Af.) but there is marked seasonality of precipitation. The north-west monsoon, November to April, brings two-thirds of the annual rainfall (average 100 inches per year); July and August with about four inches per month are relatively dry. The temperature is over 80°F on most days and rarely falls below 70°F on the coolest night, but the heat is alleviated by north-easterly sea breezes which blow during the afternoon and evening throughout the year.

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The first reported contact between Europeans and Yega was during an expedition along the coast by the Lt Governor of Papua, Sir William McGregor, in 1893, but the first real step in the process of change occurred with the establishment of an Anglican mission school on Waususu Point in 1909. From this time until the outbreak of World War II,

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Yega men began leaving their villages to work

466 [P.5-A)

for short periods as indentured labourers on the newly-established European plantations or on the wharves of Port Moresby or Samarai. Most men sampled the novelty for a short time but quickly returned to the village; some showed little interest in the wider life introduced by the white men but a few were greatly influenced and spent years away from home in paid employment such as the Papuan Constabulary.

## SOCIAL STRUCTURE

The Yega constitute a social and political unit and regard themselves as separate and distinct from the similar groups around them, even though all speak mutually understandable dialects of the same language. Each of these groups may therefore be termed a parish. Before the enforced abandonment of warfare early this century, these parishes lived in a situation of constant enmity and changing military alliances. In the absence of effective natural barriers on the plain, each group concentrated upon the production of its food supplies as close as possible to its home villages; tracts of forest which served as hunting areas and as reservoirs of wild food and building materials also served as 'no man's lands' surrounding the territory of each parish group. As hunting rights to these forest areas were obtained by daring individuals who ventured far into them, near the swidden areas of neighbouring groups, it is not surprising that such

[P.5-B]

361 The new village sites also reduced walking time to the gardens.

618 722 The war of 1939-1945 affected the Yega in several important ways. Their territory became one of the major battlefields of the Pacific War. Every person migrated from the area with the exception of one old crippled woman who somehow managed to survive for eighteen months in the bush. Almost all able-bodied men served in the army or labour corps and the women and children lived at another Anglican mission about thirty miles to the north. When they returned, they found all buildings, and any belongings that they had left behind, destroyed and most of their coconut palms cut down or damaged by gunfire. There were some compensations. The Australian Government paid thousands of dollars in war-damage compensation for all trees and property but, more important, the stimulus of travel, and meeting and working with Australian and American soldiers, gave the younger men in particular a broader view of life which triggered off changes in their traditional economy. In addition, the transfer of the Administrative headquarters from Buna to Higaturu resulted in the construction of a major road to the port of Cape Killerton and brought the Yega into closer touch with the outside world than ever before. As a result, between 1945 and 1950, about twenty families left their re-built villages and moved east to found the new village of Surilai at Cape Killerton (Fig. 9). Men living at Surilai have since found regular employment on the Government wharf at Cape Killerton.

648 701 722 727 729 659 199 199 491 361 166 [464]

178 433 464 466 Major post-war changes in the Yega economy have resulted from their attempts to increase their cash earnings. Before the war many men worked as indentured labourers on plantations or on the wharves at Port Moresby

(P. 13-A) [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 14-B]

178 and Samarai. They were away from home for
433 two years at a time and were not accompanied
464 by their wives and children. Since the war they
466 have not returned to indentured labour but
have tried other ways of earning money.

424 The first such experiment was an agricul-
241 tural co-operative, originated by a returned
177 soldier who got the idea from one of his
179 wartime Australian friends. Anglican Mis-
sionaries sponsored and directed the scheme
and some money was made from cash crops
of sweet potatoes, peanuts, and rice. However,
when the money was shared amongst all those
participating, it was a very small return for
the amount of work and there was widespread
dissatisfaction. The scheme was finally doomed
to failure by two events—the permanent re-
turn to Australia of the mission organiser in
January 1950, and the death of the Yega leader
in the Mt Lamington volcanic eruption in

[P.14-B]

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177 b) The production of crops specifically for sale.

(654) c) The acceptance by the indigenes of
(657) supervision and advice from European and indigenous members of the Agriculture Department: people with whom they had no kinship ties.

(423) d) The location of houses on the blocks.
e) The registration, by some individuals, of freehold title.

245 It is unfortunate that the scheme which appeared so successful in its early stages should have failed largely because of circumstances outside of the people's control.

464 Many Yega have made no attempt to earn
(439) cash from commercial agriculture. From the
066) time of earliest contact with Europeans some of them have left home to work for wages. At the present time, almost one third of them are absent working, studying, or as dependents.

464 Forty-four per cent of all Yega men are away
178 working. Those who are married are accom-
592 panied in almost every instance by their wives
166 and children. This situation represents a marked change from the pre-1940 years when many Yega men worked as indentured or casual labourers and could not take their dependents with them. Nowadays most Yega
(446) work in semi-skilled or skilled occupations in which family accommodation is often provided by employers. Even if accommodation is not supplied, the breadwinner's earnings are apparently adequate to provide living quarters for his wife and children; frequently town accommodation is of poor standard but evidently family life is preferred to separation.

871 The main factor in the marked improve-
178 ment in skills is education. The educational opportunities which have been available to the Yega for nearly fifty years have been exceptionally favourable, when compared with
(799) those of most other New Guineans. A mission school has operated in the area since 1909; since 1932 (except for war years) it has had at least one European teacher permanently on the staff. This educational background has
(464) enabled the younger generation of Yega men to take advantage of opportunities for employment in posts of responsibility and higher income which have become available in increasing numbers during the post-war period.

[P16-B]

659 such as his threat to chain some recalcitants to corpses they had
177 refused to bury, never entered his official despatches; other exploits led to a series of inquiries and finally to his being edged out of the service.

While Monckton's methods were never practised again by senior officers in the Northern District, the tendency for the field men to become involved with Orokaiva ways of thought and thus incur the displeasure of Port Moresby has persisted. The Higaturu Council's land registration scheme, dreamed up by Popondetta public servants, is a case of that tendency. In this case land title deeds were issued which had no validity in law but which the district commissioner would protect with his strong right arm, such as Monckton would have done most efficiently. The arrangement was repudiated by higher authority in Port Moresby. Very often relationships between white employers and Orokaiva exist on two levels: an official level where wages are paid for work done and an unofficial level where the Orokaiva receives some small extra gifts and rewards his employer with some special loyalty. These "buckshees" are a regular pattern for which some allowance is made when calculating labour costs.

659 A second and completely different type of expatriate was Mr.
731 Kaad, who was in charge of the Ilimo evacuation camp. He neither relied on threats of dire punishment nor on the Orokaiva system of exchange bargaining. He came to the Territory in 1942 with the Army and stayed to become a patrol officer. He was soon seconded with the
● [466] Department of Labour. It became his task to educate expatriate employers whose methods of treating their labour conflicted with the government's plan of improving relations between Australia and the Papuans. In particular his task was to advocate better methods of labour control than corporal punishment which had been extremely prevalent. Orokaiva informants told me that in fact corporal punishment on plantations ceased after the second world war. Mr. Kaad later became an Assistant District Officer. At the time of the eruption he had just come back from leave to move to a new post, when he was chosen for the delicate job of looking after the evacuation camp.

His task at Ilimo, as he saw it, was to help the recovery of people who "had their world shattered." He was greatly in sympathy with the new policy of promoting Papuan economic development and tried hard to make the resettlement villages he set up into foci for development. At the same time he was always flexible and ready to place the interests of recovery from shock above the interests of reorganisation. Shortly after, he was crippled in an accident. In 1967, he was teaching at the School for Pacific Administration in Sydney, training future generations of patrol officers in techniques of social and economic development which he practised before he knew them theoretically.

659 Most of the other expatriates who had dealings with Sivepe and
177 Inonda moved quickly into anonymity. The roles played by a succession of government and mission servants were undoubtedly key roles, but their contact with the particular villages was too casual for their